

The South African Outlook

AUGUST 1, 1961.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
THE OUTLOOK	113	Theological Education in	
The Position in Central		South Africa	125
Africa	117	Lovedale Institution To-	
Tolerance and Intolerance	119	day	126
South-West—The Achilles		Books We Commend	
Heel of the Republic	119	<i>Concerning the rights of</i>	
The Role of African Move-		<i>Rulers over their Subjects</i>	
ments in Christian Con-		<i>and Duty of Subjects to-</i>	
ferences	121	<i>wards their Rulers</i>	127
Fort Hare Historical Notes	122	<i>The Emperor Theodosius</i>	
Conflicting Reports about		<i>and the Establishment of</i>	
Angola	124	<i>Christianity</i>	128

The South African Outlook

It is not wonderful that the poor are carried away by the new gospel of sanitation, leisure and comfort.

—W. Robertson Nicoll.

* * * *

The Liquor Act

The Liquor Bill, with which we dealt at length last month, has been passed and has become an Act. It is to be greatly regretted that so contentious a measure was introduced in the dying days of a revolutionary session, as Dr. D. L. Smit declared. It is a measure that should have been brought in, if at all, only after mature consideration and after consultation with all sections of the population whose lives will be affected by its provisions. It is indicative of the trend of things today that Nationalist members of Parliament who did not approve of the Bill were required by the Government to take no part in the debates and had to abstain from voting. A measure so contentious, and so affecting the moral life of the country, should have been left to the free vote of members, as was done in the parties other than the Nationalist. It is one of the ironies of the situation that while Clause 8 of the Bill will allow those of all race groups above the age of 18 to get as much liquor as they like, Clause 18 provides for a penalty for drunkenness being increased from a moderate fine of £25 or three months to a fine of £200 or twelve months.

* * * *

To many it is a comfort that twenty-three members of Parliament fought the measure at every turn. And to many it is also specially gratifying that the Federal Council for Combating Social Evils of the Dutch Reformed Church, representing the churches of the Transvaal, Free State, Cape and Natal condemned the proposals in no uncertain fashion. In another column

will be found the statement of the Council, which, it must be remembered, was adopted despite the fact that members on the Government benches mostly belong to these Churches.

* * * *

The Dutch Reformed Church and the Liquor Bill.

Below we give the statement issued on 14th June by the Federal Council for Combating Social Evils of the Dutch Reformed Church, representing the Churches of the Transvaal, Free State, Cape and Natal condemning the proposals in the Liquor Bill.

* * * *

These proposals would lead to the demoralisation of the Bantu and place a major obstacle in the way of the churches' mission work. The Bill went further than the supply of light wine suggested by the Malan Commission, which in itself was unacceptable to the Church. The Federal Council also condemns the proposed supply of liquor to 18 year old Natives as being against Native custom, under which only older men are entitled to liquor.

The Bill does not take into account the fact that the great majority of Bantu live in primitive conditions and have not reached the standard of civilization under which they would be proof against the devastating effects of alcohol. The lesson is clear—the liquor of the white man may not be given freely to less developed peoples. The white man has not only a duty as the Christian guardian of the non-white to shelter him against alcohol, he also owes a duty to his own safety and civilization because of the crime, disturbance and moral dangers that follow on the abuse of alcohol.

The Transvaal and Cape Synods of the Church, as well as the Church congress in Bloemfontein and the Federal Missionary Council have all taken strong resolutions against the extension of liquor facilities and the tot system to the north.

The Federal Council trusts that Parliament will not accept this comprehensive law in its present form, but will obey the voice of the churches.

* * * *

The Republic—Central Celebration cancelled.

It was intended to hold a central celebration of the inauguration of the Republic on the anniversary of the first year of its existence, that is, on 31st May 1962. The Minister of the Interior, Senator de Clerk, has, however, intimated that there will be no central celebration. Local celebrations may be organized in different centres. It

is pointed out that 31st May next year will be Ascension Day, so that local celebrations will be held on 30th May. It is emphasized that the new arrangement will save considerable expense to all concerned. Some members of parliament believe that the step taken is the first of Government measures for drastic pruning of expenditure, in view of the country's financial position. Steps will be taken to proclaim 30th May 1962 a public holiday.

* * * *

Another Individual Ban.

Dr. A. C. Jordan, author and lecturer in African Studies at the University of Cape Town, was awarded a travel grant by the Carnegie Corporation and a visiting lectureship in African languages and literature at the University of California. The South African Government, however, has refused to make it possible for him to leave South Africa. Dr. Jordan, who is well known for his authorship of *The Wrath of the Ancestors* and other books, has been a lecturer at Cape Town University for over fifteen years. He had been granted study leave by the University. The purpose of the Carnegie grant was to enable him to visit Universities in the United Kingdom and the United States, to investigate the latest developments in linguistic research and methods, with particular emphasis on structural linguistics. From many quarters have come protests against the Government's action, but so far without result. Dr. Jordan has publicly opposed various Government measures, including the Bantu Education Act.

* * * *

Bantu Educational Institutions.

Recent weeks have seen many educational institutions for the Bantu experiencing non-co-operation on the part of students, so that various institutions had to close some time before the Winter holidays were due. At one institution in Umtata it was alleged that there were disturbances, a truck was burnt and the thatched roof of the library set on fire. In connection with this institution 103 students were found guilty of "addressing, holding or being present at an illegal gathering on June 7 and 8 in contravention of proclamation 400 of 1960." Three others, found guilty of public violence, were fined R50 (or 120 days imprisonment) and were required jointly and severally to make good the damage on the truck, the schoolmaster's flat, and the cost of the fire brigade amounting to R325. Counsel for the defence gave notice of appeal.

* * * *

When some institutions were reopened after the holidays, non-co-operation on the part of students again took place and the closing of the institutions once more ensued. At Lovedale peaceful non-co-operation again took place, and the Minister of Bantu Education ordered an in-

quiry to take place so that the circumstances may be thoroughly sifted. The prevalence of the same type of conduct in institution after institution is giving rise to questions as to whether there is a concerted movement which is receiving some form of central direction. Our sympathy goes out to teachers, European and African, who see their efforts on behalf of the education of Africans sadly disrupted and frustrated.

* * * *

Apartheid in Canada.

Recently a Canadian reader sent to the *British Weekly* (Edinburgh) a letter on the racial policy of Canada. We quote the letter below in full, and leave it to point its own moral.

Sir,—The recent Prime Ministers' conference has provided us with many voices that condemned apartheid. We should be careful though lest we forget about the beam in our own eye. Here in Canada a Chinese mother was deported to Hong Kong, leaving her young baby behind in Ottawa, since she, having come here on a visitors' visa, was not allowed to be admitted as an immigrant. Her parents live in Ottawa, but she is not allowed to live here.

Another Chinese family is to be deported whenever the father, who is at large, can be located. A woman born of white Russian parents, and at present teaching Russian at the University of British Columbia, is also to be deported, since she is not in a class that is admitted to Canada.

The Christian churches are quite complacent and we all join the chorus: Those terrible rulers of South Africa.

K. T. SMITH.

Kingston,
Canada.

* * * *

Bigger Pay Packet could help South Africa's economy.

A reported additional R40-million. over a period of 12 months. to the annual wage-bill of Africans was a positive step towards helping the economy of the Republic. This is the view of Mr. E. R. Silberbauer, Director of the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association, expressed in the current issue of *Race Relations Journal* the quarterly publication of the South African Institute of Race Relations. Mr. Silberbauer says, "Africans have come to me and said they appreciate the wage increase. They are able to buy things they could not previously afford." An analysis made of the way in which money was spent in certain of the firms who belonged to the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association showed that the extra money was used almost entirely on food. It was the wish of the Association that wages would rise to such an extent that three to six million more Africans would be added to South Africa's consumer market over

a wide range of commodities. This would call for higher productions from South African manufacturers and from farmers, and increased production would raise the demand for labour. A general and considerable increase in wages brought about in reasonable stages so as not to disrupt industry might well be the key to an expanding economy in South Africa and the creation of a healthy and prosperous African population.

* * * *

Mr. Silberbauer also pleads for a better understanding of African labour in the field of industrial training and human relations which, if properly approached, could lead to a tremendous increase in productivity and a more contented labour force.

On this score, he suggests that White employers and supervisors learn more about how the African lives and thinks. This might be achieved by the publication of a good handbook on African law and custom to provide the basis for lectures on training courses for Whites.

"It is a hopeful sign," he says, "that responsible businessmen in all the major centres of South Africa should demonstrate a practical interest in raising the standard of living of the African worker, and that there is a steadily growing realisation that business must include in its policy the planning of satisfaction for the worker."

* * * *

Methodist Church and Racial discrimination.

The South African Methodist Church may soon establish a church in one of the major city centres open to all races for worship together. This is one of the Methodist Church projects described in the July number of *Race Relations News*, the monthly publication of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. A vigorous programme of race education was planned by the Methodist Church at their 1959 Annual Conference, and has now reached the stage of making personal contact with every South African Methodist through a series of pamphlets. The first of these established six biblical principles which affect race attitudes, giving chapter and verse for their authenticity:

1. That all men have a common origin and are members of the one human family.
2. That all men, having been created in God's Image, are of infinite worth.
3. That God is concerned with all men and controls their destinies.
4. That God shows no partiality towards any particular nation or race.
5. That all men are sinners, having defaced the Image, of God within them.
6. That all men, regardless of race or nationality, may be saved by Christ.

District and Regional Conferences, multi-racial in character, are to be called to assist people of different races to become used to association with each other. Inter-racial Study Groups are also to be organised to familiarise members with each others' problems. Churches will be encouraged to increase the exchange of pulpits, by ministers of different races, and white and non-white organisations and societies will be urged to invite each others' members to their meetings from time to time. Subsequent pamphlets will deal with the Methodist Church's attitude to race, the theological reason for, and the implications of that attitude. The programme is far-reaching, and bold, with the fullest knowledge of the difficulties that may be expected in its implementation.

* * * *

Big Business and the Race Relations Institute.

Mr. John S. Schlesinger, head of the R.160,000,000 Schlesinger Organisation, has set South African business men and industrialists a lead for better race relations. He is one of the first "big business" representatives to answer a recent call by the South African Institute of Race Relations for "top level" membership and funds. Mr. Schlesinger has joined the Institute, and accepted the position of vice-chairman of the fund-raising and membership-drive committee. In a statement Mr. Schlesinger explained his reasons for joining the Institute, and appealed to other business men and industrialists to follow suit. He said:

"I have recently returned from one of my numerous trips abroad. Like all of us who travel I have been put in the inquisitor's chair. By the questions I am asked I believe I got a fairly reasonable feel of a wide section of public opinion, at least in Britain and the United States. They say, 'How can you ever solve your problems and make the best of your country unless you get together—all of you—and talk about it?' The South African Institute of Race Relations is trying to do just that. Basically, we have simply got to sit down and go about the job of living together. Now this can only be done by dealing with facts and not theoretical mumbo-jumbo. Emotionalism will get us nowhere."

Facts and dissemination of factual material was the business of the Institute, said Mr. Schlesinger. It provided a catalyst for the coming together of all sections of the community to attempt the overwhelming challenge of living together. Mr. Schlesinger added: "It isn't what business men can do for the Institute that is important, but what they can do for themselves—they are one and the same thing. How many of us are really informed about the other sections of our community? How many South African business men and industrialists can say honestly that they understand the problems

and complexities of all races of this fabulous but tortured country of ours? I cannot, but I am completely convinced—as of nothing else in my life before—that I must do so now. That is why I have become a member of the South African Institute of Race Relations.”

* * * *

Retirement of Mr. F. J. de Villiers.

Announcement was recently made that Mr. F. J. de Villiers, Secretary for Bantu Education, is retiring as from 1st October. Mr. de Villiers trained for the ministry of the Congregational Church, but early turned to educational work on behalf of non-Europeans. He joined the staff of Adams College in Natal in 1927 and was later principal of the Dower College for Coloured teachers in Uitenhage. He was appointed Inspector of Schools by the Cape Education Department in 1935, and in 1948 was made Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Cape. Five years later he was appointed professional adviser to the Superintendent-General of Education, Cape in Province. When Bantu Education began to function he was appointed Under-Secretary for Bantu Education and in 1958 became Secretary. We have been associated with Mr. de Villiers in various ways—in the Lovedale Governing Council, the Advisory Board for Native Education of the Cape and in other capacities—and can testify to his integrity, fairmindedness and constant endeavour to advance the interests, intellectual and spiritual, of non-Europeans. Indeed, in our view Mr. de Villiers towered above the system it was his duty to advance in later years. Whatever the difference of viewpoint on the merits or demerits of Bantu Education, Mr. de Villiers deserves to carry into retirement the warm thanks and good wishes of the non-European peoples.

* * * *

Johannesburg Public Library—Retirement of Mr. R. F. Kennedy.

The Annual Report of the Johannesburg Public Library recently published tells that Mr. R. F. Kennedy, the City Librarian, has retired, after serving the Library since 1st September 1921, even before the Johannesburg Public Library had become a municipal institution. In 1924 the Municipality took full responsibility for the Library, and Mr. Kennedy continued as Deputy. In 1936 the then Librarian retired, and Mr. Kennedy was appointed to the chief post on 17th July. Under his direction the Johannesburg Public Library developed from a single point of service (the Central Library on the Market Square) into a modern urban library service with branches in the suburbs and the townships, with travelling libraries visiting outlying areas, with qualified staff dispensing books in hospitals, with special services, such as a municipal reference library, an African library and a music library, all administered by highly qualified

and experienced librarians. At the same time the Reference Library, the Lending Library and the Children's Library, which had been established before 1936, received more books and more staff. It is a commonplace saying that a library service consists of readers, staff, books, and buildings. Johannesburg has from the earliest days had discriminating readers (otherwise why should a mining camp start a library from its own resources before it was three years old?) Mr. Kennedy took over a new central library building, and thanks to the far-sighted policy of the Johannesburg City Council, branch library premises (either specially built or rented) have, in spite of a World War and financial troubles, become available from time to time. Mr. Kennedy pioneered in various directions, one of the most commendable being the establishment of non-European Libraries in various townships adjoining Johannesburg. We wish Mr. Kennedy a long and happy retirement, and are glad to know that he has been appointed a member of the Library Consultative Committee.

* * * *

Lovedale's Africana.

During the course of its history Lovedale Missionary Institution acquired a most valuable collection of Africana consisting of books and letters. These were housed in a strong room which did not afford facilities for research work. By resolution of the South Africa Mission Council of the Church of Scotland the collection has been given on loan to the Cory Library of Rhodes University, where its items can be consulted by students of all races.

* * * *

Rev. Neil C. Bernard.

There has arrived in South Africa the Rev. Neil C. Bernard, the Africa and Jamaica secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland. Mr. Bernard was appointed a missionary in 1930 and has had much experience in Nigeria and Central Africa. In the latter he was Regional Secretary and acted as liaison officer between the mission and Governments. His visit to South Africa is largely to endeavour to smooth out problems which have arisen in connection with the Church of Scotland's policy for integration of its work with the Bantu Presbyterian Church. Mr. Bernard expects to be in South Africa for at least two months. His headquarters will be at Lovedale, where he can be communicated with. We trust that his stay in the Republic will be happy and that he will be successful in the task allotted to him.

The Position in Central Africa

A HEARTENING DECISION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

HISTORY has been in the making in Central Africa recently. Much discussion has been devoted to the new constitution for Northern Rhodesia. Hurried visits were made to London by Mr. Julian Greenfield, the Minister for Justice in the Federal Government, by Sir John Moffat, the leader of the Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesia, and by various African Nationalist leaders. It seemed at one point that Sir Roy Welensky was also to hurry to London, but his aeroplane booking was cancelled after he was at the airport.

Much work had been done behind the scenes in London in an endeavour to shape the new constitution for the northern territory. The outcome, as given in the British Government's white paper, has been a constitution that has been declared by Sir Roy Welensky to be a bad one, but workable. All other parties, and especially the African Nationalist parties, have declared their extreme disappointment with it, and their active opposition to it.

The well-informed London weekly, *Southern Africa*, declares that what has happened recently is that the British Government has retained Mr. Iain Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, as a member of the Cabinet, but has halted his policies by which he was ready to hand over the rule of Northern Rhodesia to an African majority in the Legislative Council.

The storm has centred round the arrangement which made provision for 15 seats to be filled by electors on the upper roll (principally European) and 15 to be filled by voters on the lower roll (principally African), and for 15 "National" seats. The original proposals seemed to make it likely that the 15 "national" seats would be mostly filled by Africans. The final arrangement, however, is that of the 15 "national" seats five are to be filled by Africans, five by Europeans, and the remaining five are likely to be held mostly by Europeans. Election of the "national" members is to be weighted 60-40 in favour of the European voters. Under these arrangements Africans are not meantime to hold the balance of power in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the National Union Independence party, has declared that the new constitution will mean "ruling us at the gun-point." In speeches he warned the British Government that his non-violent "master plan" would be put into operation, a declaration that was later endorsed by a large meeting of his followers who gave him "emergency powers." Mr. Kaunda has declared that it may be necessary to bring everything to a standstill in Northern

Rhodesia by a withdrawal of labour. Mr. Kaunda has created an unfortunate impression in some quarters by the violence of his declarations. He described the new constitution as "the worst ever offered to any colony, designed simply to make Africans the tools of imperialism." He went on to say that the "British Government has betrayed us and is treating us like dirt. Assurances given to me have proved false. We shall no longer rely on British promises." He declared that the non-violent campaign "would strike the very foundations of the British Government in this country."

The month of July closed with ominous rumblings all over Northern Rhodesia, and much questioning as to what the immediate future held.

* * * *

In Southern Rhodesia the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, with the active support of Sir Roy Welensky has been conducting a vigorous campaign to ensure that the electors of Southern Rhodesia will approve the constitutional proposals for the country when they vote in the referendum which was appointed to take place on 26th July. These include the virtual termination of Britain's reserve powers over the Colony, and in place of these to have a Declaration of Rights and provision for a Constitutional Council to act as watch-dog over racial discrimination. The new Constitution will also ensure that thousands more Africans—five times the present number—will come on to the voters' rolls, and for their numbers to be progressively increased as the years go by. It would also ensure that in the immediate future 15/18 Africans would be elected as members of parliament.

Sir Roy Welensky has declared, "With events as they are on the African Continent, with the indications we have had of a change of Government policy in the United Kingdom, and the prospect of this new policy continuing, it is absolutely vital, in the best interests of all races in Southern Rhodesia, that this country should attain as great a degree of independence as is possible in the circumstances that exist in the Federation today." He pointed to events in other British colonies, especially in Kenya and Zanzibar, and said that British Colonial policy had taken a turn which had brought about some "unfortunate results" in recent times. While Southern Rhodesia had had its share of troubles, the country had been able to cope with them, but others had not been so fortunate. Unless the new constitution went through Britain would still be in a position to exercise "certain very considerable powers" over Southern Rhodesia.

The new constitution would make Southern Rhodesia virtually independent—free to legislate as it wishes, and free from any possibility of legislation being imposed on it by Britain.

Sir Edgar Whitehead appealed to the electors along similar lines, contending that the proposals embodied in the constitution were not only fair to all sections of the population but could alone ensure peaceful development of the country.

The whole position has been complicated by the National Democratic Party, under the leadership of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, opposing strenuously the new proposals, and renewing the demand for "one man, one vote." The Party set in motion plans to take an African unofficial referendum on Sunday, 23rd July, and in anticipation of the Government referendum on 26th July to stage a three days nationwide strike of African employees. As a result, Sir Edgar Whitehead on 21st July issued a statement that said, "All meetings of more than 12 people in the Native reserves and the tribal areas are prohibited, subject to certain exceptions, under the Native Affairs Act on Saturday and Sunday" (22nd and 23rd July). It was intimated that gatherings to the National Democratic Party unofficial referendum polling booths, both inside and outside the Native areas, are not illegal gatherings, provided they are peaceful and are not employed as occasions for addressing the gatherings. It was added that on Wednesday, 26th July, which is a working day, and is the day on which the official referendum will take place, there is no need for anyone to hold meetings. It was therefore the intention of the Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs to ban all meetings throughout the country on that day.

On 18th July it was announced that the Federal Ministry of Defence, at the request of the Southern Rhodesia Government, had made "certain precautionary troop dispositions." These troop movements had been made in terms of "the clear undertaking given by the Federal Government to assist territorial governments in the maintenance of law and order." All the movements related to units of the regular army. The police reserve in Salisbury was put on standby duties and later began a system of night patrols, in Harare and other Native townships. Sir Edgar Whitehead declared that any attempt by African Nationalists to disrupt the referendum would be firmly dealt with.

STOP PRESS NEWS.

As we go to press the result of the Southern Rhodesia referendum has been received. The final figures are: For the new constitution 41,949; against the new constitution 21,846, a majority of 20,103.

Nothing could be more salutary for the future of

Southern Rhodesia than this decisive victory for Sir Edgar Whitehead and his colleagues, and indirectly for Sir Roy Welensky and the United Federal Party in the Federation. As we have already mentioned, it will also ensure some 15/18 African members sitting in a Parliament where previously there were none.

Just as significant is the fact that the attempted three days' strike on the part of the National Democratic Party proved a complete failure, as, generally speaking, the African people did not respond to the call to leave their work from 24th to 26th July. Government gave protection to workers desiring to proceed about their usual business and this prevented intimidation, though some ugly attempts at the latter were made in a few places, particularly on the first day when workers returned home in the evening.

It is obvious that many threats by extremist African leaders are not supported by their own people and that indeed these leaders are not truly representative of the majority of Africans.

We trust that the lessons to be learned from recent events in Southern Rhodesia will have their influence throughout the Federation, that soon a satisfactory constitution for the Federation as a whole will be worked out, and that then the three countries can settle down to a long period of peaceful progress. Nothing is worse for a country than to have continual uncertainty as to its future constitutional arrangements. Foreign investors are frightened to invest their money where the political future is not assured. It says much for the Central African Federation that its financial position is as it is, despite the shocks it has sustained in the last year or two. Its leaders have earned a time of general settlement, so that their leadership may show the results that seem certain to follow if they have no distraction.

The fight that is on in Africa is one between extremism, either white or black, and ordered evolutionary progress. The vote in Southern Rhodesia is decisively for the latter. It also shows that the white electors are prepared to implement the policy of partnership, provided Government remains in responsible hands. It is clear that in Central Africa we are seeing the biggest experiment yet seen in the Continent of an endeavour to build up a multi-racial society in which place and power will depend on merit and not on colour. We trust that extremists on both sides will modify their views and by a diminishing of their belligerency and threatening provocative speeches will prove that their ultimate aim is the good of the country as a whole and not of their own race. We would add that with its neighbour on its northern boundary so divorced from its policies, must give food for thought to the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

Tolerance and Intolerance

AN INDIAN VIEWPOINT

IN a recent issue, *Indian Opinion*, the South African weekly journal founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903 and edited by his son Manilal Gandhi from 1918-1956, there appeared a leading article dealing with methods for breaking down the colour bar, and entitled "Tolerance and Intolerance." Its viewpoint is so unusual in its magnanimity that we have pleasure in reproducing it in full for the consideration of our readers. It ran:

Black Africa, emerging from the bonds of the White-man, and the Negro people in the United States challenging the concept of White Supremacy, are increasingly applying the techniques of Satyagraha to their efforts to realise their just place under the sun. In the Southern States of America the "Freedom Riders" are in action testing the validity of segregation in the transport system of the various states. This follows upon the "Sit-in" campaign which was used to fight against the operation of the colour-bar in hotels and restaurants. In the Rhodesias the African people are slowly challenging the colour-bar in churches and public places by deliberately defying notices which state that places and facilities are reserved for European use. In the Transvaal and the Cape there was recently a "Sit-in" campaign when groups of White and non-Whites sought to break down segregation in some public places. That eventually all segregation supported by law must go is not doubted. But the trend of this action which is challenging the existence of segregation, apartheid, discrimination and the colour-bar gives rise to some questions.

Facilities and amenities provided from state funds should always be available to every citizen—White and Black—without discrimination, but what of private institutions? This point is raised because of the attempts by some Africans to enter a church which does not cater for non-Whites. A Church is not a public institution; it is not financed out of the coffers of the state. It is a private body representing the efforts and the aims of a group of people brought together by common interests,

ties and beliefs. No doubt, by denying free admission to all and sundry, these people may be vitiating the principles of Christianity but who can deny—who should deny—them the right to organise for purposes of worship in any manner as long as they do not infringe on the rights of others? What right has anyone to force himself and his attentions on a private institution to which he in no way contributes, even indirectly?

We must be careful that in the course of our efforts to fight intolerance and to establish our rights we do not infringe upon the rights of other people. It is quite proper that a railway restaurant and rest-rooms in South Africa should be open to all irrespective of colour, for the railways are run and managed by the Government. On the other hand, can the same argument be applied to a privately owned hotel which does not admit or provide facilities for non-Europeans? Is it unreasonable to allow a person to reserve the right of admission to his place of business which is the result of his private endeavours? Is not a man entitled to restrict his services to a particular group of people if he so desires? This is a very important question which, in the years which lie ahead, will exercise the minds of non-Europeans in South Africa. It will be an act of wisdom to discuss the question now. The liberty of the individual is an important concept and those who would fight for their liberty must first ensure the liberty of others. A recent example was the case of Mr. A. S. Kajee who attended the induction of the State-President in Pretoria. For this Mr. Kajee was vilified and he and his family were threatened by violence so much so that he had to seek police-protection. Surely this is a distressing commentary on the intolerance of those who would fight intolerance. Mr. Kajee has the individual's liberty to accept an invitation without being vilified and, more horrible, threatened by violence. In a situation of this kind those who think differently should apply moral persuasion rather than breed even greater intolerance. On this we have much to learn from Gandhi and Tagore.

South-West Africa—The Achilles Heel of the Republic

THE failure or inability of the South African Government to enlist sympathy and wide diplomatic support in its difficulties, is leading to the international isolation of this country. This has been made quite clear by recent events. And since South Africa is under

attack at the United Nations and its policies the subject of three separate disputes, this growing isolation is likely to prove of the utmost consequence for the future of the Republic. These disputes concern the status of the former mandated territory of South-West Africa, the

treatment of Indian subjects of Indian origin, and the general question of racial discrimination as practised in the Union.

In the most recent publication produced by the South African Institute of Race Relations, "South-West Africa—The Case Against the Union" written by Mr. R. B. Ballinger, Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of the Witwatersrand—it is shown that the Mandate over South-West Africa was vested in the Union and not in the British Crown, and that even if South Africa ceased to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations she did not change her identity: "her international duties and obligations remain and the treaties to which she is party will continue." For this has happened in the cases of India which remained within the Commonwealth and with Burma which became a republic outside the Commonwealth, Mr. Ballinger points out.

He shows that if the International Court of the United Nations now considering the South-West Africa question, follows its Advisory Opinion of 1950 and rules that all the obligations of the Mandatory Power under the League of Nations continue to be binding, that supervisory functions are to be exercised by the United Nations, and further that violations of the Mandate have occurred, then the continued disregard of the judgement by the South African Government could lead in the last resort to the legal revocation and transfer of the Mandate.

Presumably the South African Government will dispute the competence of the International Court and claim the case is non-justiciable, maintaining as it has done in the past that the Mandate lapsed with the dissolution of the League of Nations in 1946, and that being so there can be neither the international obligations alleged, nor yet compulsory international jurisdiction concerning it. The Union Government set out the legal basis of its general position on these questions in a written statement presented to the International Court in 1950.

But the legal issues argued on that occasion have since given rise to much intricate argument in the light of which South Africa's case may have undergone detailed elaboration. The essentials however remain, and whether the representatives of the Union before the Court will succeed in changing the substance of the Advisory Opinion remains to be seen.

"One thing is clear," sums up Mr. Ballinger. "Once the competence of the Court is established, and a dispute within the meaning of the relevant terms is shown to exist, then the other charges brought by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia could provide a basis for examination of the administration and govern-

ment of South-West Africa far wider in scope and more far-reaching in its implications than anything yet undertaken at United Nations.

"It is well known that the Trusteeship Council was highly critical in its observations of the administration of the territory; nowhere was this attitude more succinctly expressed than in the paragraph of its report which stated:

"The Council is opposed as a matter of principle to racial segregation. The Council while lacking precise information as to the reasons for the whole segregation policy of the Territory, considers that great efforts should be made to eliminate, through education and other positive measures, whatever reasons may exist that explain segregation."

Although the writer points out that the dispute over South-West is at root a political one, not a legal one, nevertheless, he adds, "involving legal issues as it does their import is none the less clear." If in the course of time the United Nations initiates some form of disciplinary action against the Union—for example economic sanctions—the legal justification would undoubtedly be South Africa's disregard of her international obligations in respect of South-West Africa.

"There can be no escape now from the reality of the situation—not even by a withdrawal from the United Nations. For such a withdrawal could not prevent the United Nations from taking positive action in respect of South-West Africa if it so determined, but it would deny South Africa any protection which membership of a world organisation affords against unilateral acts of aggression. And it is in respect particularly of South-West Africa that South Africa is immediately vulnerable."

The question now before the people of South Africa is what steps the Government is prepared to take—if it is not too late already—to avoid complete isolation in the field of international relations?

There is a famous story of Diogenes, the Cynic philosopher. He was captured by pirates and was being sold as a slave. As he gazed at the bystanders who were bidding for him, he looked at a man, "Sell me to that man," he said, "he needs a master." The man bought him, handed over the management of his household and the education of his children to him. "It was a good day for me," he used to say, "when Diogenes entered my household."

Wm. Barclay.

The Role of African Movements in Christian Conferences

By The Rev. B. M. Mokoteli.

(Mr. Mokoteli is a minister of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa. He has been seconded for service with the Student Christian Movement. In the last year or two he has travelled widely in Europe, and in the following article, for which we are indebted to "Ministry," the quarterly theological review for Southern Africa, he gives a frank account of two student conferences, held under the auspices of the World Students' Christian Federation, which he attended in Germany and Greece. The article is of special interest as showing trends in African thinking and action.

—Editor, "South African Outlook.")

THIS report on the role of the African movements at the World Students' Christian Federation Conferences held during July and August last year in Strasbourg and Greece will necessarily contain some of my own general impressions—and I am afraid perhaps also some dangerous generalizations. I am only too aware of the difficulty of my task in reporting on anything touching this most complicated continent of ours.

The above-mentioned African movements played an important part at the two conferences. All delegates showed a keen interest both in the meetings and outside. From the very beginning, the Africans showed signs of dissatisfaction and a certain measure of resentment. They were, however, interested in the theme of the teaching conference in Strasbourg but it soon became clear to me that every address given was to be weighed against the problems of Africa, and an answer was to be sought in these talks. It was quite evident that some delegates came with burning questions and with full hopes of getting readymade answers and solutions to their problems. The main complaint was that the speakers did not meet the challenges of youth especially in universities. In our tutorial group there was an objection against the use of the Bible in answering the questions; the Bible was said to be theoretical and not able to meet the legitimate needs of youth. I am glad that this fantastic claim, that the Bible was the book of the past, was replaced by a new thirst to return to the Word of God.

The African delegates, on the whole, were too vocal and at times unnecessarily noisy. Many delegates from other countries were unanimous that the two conferences were dominated by Africa. We were told that this behaviour was not new in Federation circles and that Asia and Latin America have also had their share. An Indian delegate confirmed this statement and went on to say

that India was now having a big bite at its own domestic problems.

The African movements succeeded in making known to the world their inside problems and the rôle that Africa intends playing in world affairs if given enough opportunities. It was interesting to note how much each country differed from the other African countries and how peculiar some of the problems were from the other neighbouring countries. It was in matters of this nature that we had to exercise deep sympathy and toleration without conniving at unchristian practices and behaviour.

Politics played an important part in our discussions, especially outside meetings. I was glad that towards the end of these conferences the attitude and approach of Africans towards this big subject was indeed Christian and constructive. There were wild attacks especially on South African policies, but the attackers soon proved that they were quite sincere and trying to understand our problems. The attitude, of some delegates especially from the independent states of Africa, towards racial problems was not pleasant. The question of Africa for Africans and Africans being prepared to misrule themselves was raised. Those of us who pleaded for and advocated moderation and toleration were not only identified with the oppressing forces but also taken to be people who were deliberately ignorant of the direction of the wind in Africa.

THE CHURCH

The African delegates paid tribute to and expressed their deep appreciation for the meritorious work of the Church through its missionary enterprise in the continent of Africa. No one, I dare say, wished to underestimate the solid contribution of the Church in all fields, especially the field of education.

There were, however, devastating criticisms against the Church. These attacks were not only levelled against the Church in Africa, but against the Church as a whole. The sins of the Church were sins of omission. The Church had ceased to be a dynamic institution, and had become apathetic, acquiescent, and parochial. Why was this so? they asked. Although most of us did not feel happy about these rather impertinent criticisms against the Church, we realised that it was high time that we consider what the Church is and what it stands for and ask ourselves very sincerely in how far we, who are the members of the Church, are responsible for this lack of

faith in the Church. In distinguishing the Church from other institutions whose duties may be purely secular, St. Paul makes it clear that the Church is the Body of the living God, a community divinely created in which God dwells and whose calling it is to safeguard against all evil forces the truths about God and life which Jesus has revealed.

In his address on "Witness amidst racial and cultural tensions," Henry Mabula presented us with the following heart-searching questions:

Difficulties from enforced group-living, where people of different colours may not even worship together: are there two Gods, a white God for the white people and a black one for black people?

Difficulties arising from the decisions of the Churches themselves to live in racial segregation: How does one who belongs to a Church that discriminates on the basis of colour make his witness amidst a cynical community? And how does one who belongs to a racial group that suffers all forms of social and economic discrimination witness faithfully?

It is, however, gratifying to know that Africans still

strongly believe that God has not been evicted from the continent of Africa, and that He is still actively at work. In spite of new ideologies and new religions which threaten Christianity, many people adhere to Christ's way of life. The foundation of the Church remains Jesus Christ, her Lord. The Church is one familiar house which stands where it has always stood, the house to which the traveller comes by midnight. God has set the Church as a city is set upon a hill. He has made it an object of decision. If men are not so foolish as to light a lamp and put it under a bushel, God is not less wise.

I am grateful to God that in our meeting together I have recognized more clearly than ever before that in spite of all the differences of language and denomination, of race and nationality, in Christ we are one, members of the Body of Christ. We have caught a vision of the whole Church sent to meet the whole world in its brokenness, and we have been made acutely aware of the alarming profusion of the needs and problems of Africa, which we fully recognize as challenges and opportunities for Christian service.

Fort Hare Historical Notes

"THE BACKROOM BOYS"

IN any institution or organization there must always be a great deal that goes on behind the scenes. Much necessary and conscientious work is done by those who only occasionally, and often by accident, come to the notice of the public. Yet without their skill and faithful performance of duty, the machinery driving the undertaking would gradually slow down and come to a halt. I have already noted the careful training and excellent spirit that Mrs. Fairlie, the first Fort Hare instructress in Business Methods, developed in her small classes. It was perhaps only one result of the clan spirit that the first few of those classes were composed mainly of Basuto, and a further consequence was that, when we were able to appoint clerk-typists in the College office, the first incumbents were all drawn from the commercial class and were natives of the Protectorate.

It was quite in line with our purpose that we should thus early call upon the Bantu for assistance, and our doing so allowed us to give these students some practice in office procedures under working conditions before inviting Government Departments or professional and commercial firms to employ them. Although their duties were at first simple, they were numerous enough to cover a variety of tasks and gave us the opportunity of impressing upon these young men how confidential their work was, and how essential for their future wel-

fare it was that they recognise what 'trust' means in the conduct of business. In this way we had a succession of appointees staying for a few years only, after which we encouraged them to seek service in their home territories. There was no instance in which we found our trust in them misplaced. In the selection of these assistants we had of course the advantage of having had them under our eye as students for several years and were well acquainted with their standard of technical and general education, and also, what was of even greater moment, with their disposition and character. They were proud to be employed in the College and soon showed that they were capable, under supervision, of handling routine correspondence, minutes, memoranda, simple book-keeping, fee ledgers, timetables, examination entries and returns, and petty cash. It is a pleasure after a lapse of forty years to recall their keenness and courtesy and to acknowledge their share in the development of their college.

First of all there was Lazarus Modibeli who hailed from Butha-Butha. He had been one of the first to be enrolled in the College but in the first year had enlisted in the Labour Corps organized to assist in the conduct of the first world-war. He was however invalided out of the army and was then appointed clerk. He served us for some years with great enthusiasm and fidelity,

then accepted an appointment in his home territory but died at a comparatively early age.

He was followed by Peacock Ntsihlele, from the same country, whose Christian name concealed and belied a modest young man, of a competence derived from his assiduous attention to his duty and an urge to qualify himself more completely for his profession, which he did by presenting himself for examination in several branches of commercial procedure. He left us to become an instructor in Business Methods in a well-known African Institution in Natal, where he was one of an all-African staff. For many years he did successful work there, but later went into business and prospered so well that he was able to purchase a European-owned store in Basutoland. He died only a year or two ago.

Peacock was succeeded by Mohaeka Molapo, also of Basutoland. He had taken a good diploma in the Commercial course and served us ably for three years before joining the Basutoland civil service. He is now retired on pension after having held some responsible posts in the administration.

In June 1926, as successor to Mr. Molapo, we appointed Mr. Joel Thabiso Mohapeloa who deserves more extended notice for he served us for 17 years before the call of the homeland became too insistent. He had completed our Business Course with distinction and was continuing studies with a view to matriculation, at that time the Mecca of the Bantu student, and of many Europeans as well. Mr. Mohapeloa recalls that I hauled him out of Dr. Jabavu's Latin class where, he says, he was making somewhat heavy weather, trying to catch up with the others who already had done two years in the subject, and there and then I offered him the post in the College Office which by this time had been increased in status and placed on the establishment.

One day, long after, I was shown some confidential reports on former students which had been noted by Mr. Alexander Geddes while Boarding Master of Lovedale Missionary Institution, in the 'nineties' of last century. At the close of each term Geddes had methodically noted his opinion of the progress, conduct, and disposition of the men students under his charge. He was a noted judge of character, the tradition of whose rule still survives among the older of the former students of the Institution. Some of those upon whom he commented in their school days subsequently reached positions of some prominence in Bantu society, and in certain circles public estimations of their careers became current. I found it quite remarkable to note how often Geddes had forecast in his term reports the reputations those students were destined to earn! One of these reports (one series, I should say) was upon an uncle of Mr. Mohapeloa of whom I am now writing, and in reading

it, it seemed to me that I could have taken over the Geddes report on the uncle, which was, I may say, highly commendatory, and applied it to the nephew in respect of manners, conduct, disposition and character, as these through the years had come under my own observation!

Early in his service with us Mr. Mohapeloa married a lady from his own territory, Miss Bernice Morolong, who had been trained by us for the teaching profession. Together they have made a worthy home. They left us with their family to return to Basutoland in 1943, where Mr. Mohapeloa had been offered a post in the Administration. A few years later he became the first custodian of the National Treasury and afterwards was appointed to the Secretariat, where he still is, in the capacity of Assistant Secretary (Finance), within a year of his retirement. In 1953 his able and loyal service was recognised by the Queen when she conferred on him the Membership of the Order of the British Empire (M.B.E.)

In 1947 Mrs. Mohapeloa was awarded the British Empire Medal in recognition of her services as Social worker, Founder of Women's Clubs, and Teacher. More than ten years ago she held a temporary lectureship in the Selly Oak College in Birmingham. Recently she was selected to attend Women's Conferences in Addis Ababa and at the Victoria Falls. The elder of their two sons is now a qualified doctor, while the younger is completing a course in motor engineering at Leeds University. Truly here is both a record of faithful service, and an example of a family which, over more than one generation, has shown and is showing "the mettle of their pasture."

ALEXANDER KERR.

CONTRAST TO THE ABOVE

Charles Lamb tells of a certain man called Samuel le Grice. In his life there were three stages. When he was young people said of him, "He will do something." As he grew older and did nothing, they said of him, "He could do something if he tried." Towards the end they said of him, "He might have done something if he had tried." His whole life was the tale of a promise that was never fulfilled.

—W. Barclay.

Conflicting Reports about Angola

GREAT publicity has been given to strictures passed by the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches at Geneva and the British Council of Churches in London concerning methods employed by Portugal in quelling the rebellion in Angola.

A report by the Baptist Missionary Society in London referred to the lynching and massacring of tens of thousands of men, women and children. The report declared that reprisals were being carried out by the Portuguese authorities with the utmost barbarism. It is claimed that there are already 100,000 starving refugees from Angola in the Congo, and that with the end of the wet season the Portuguese authorities have started setting fire to the high grass in order "to burn out the bandits like game."

The Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, in a second declaration since the beginning of the emergency, appeals to the Government of Portugal in the name of humanity and of the Christian principles so long professed by Portugal to refrain from deliberate action involving the death and maiming of thousands of Africans, including women and children, and the attack on those with education and gifts of leadership, as well as the widespread destruction of property.

The British Council of Churches protested to the British Foreign Secretary (Lord Home) against Portuguese methods.

On the other hand, the Earl of Selborne, who is a former chairman of the House of Laity of the Church of England, in a letter published last month in the *Church Times* (London), recorded his dissent from the protest of the British Council of Churches against Portuguese methods of quelling the rebellion.

One reason, he declared, was that the Council of Churches "has not the means of really knowing the true facts of what is happening in Angola." Another reason, the Earl said, was that every Government has the duty of enforcing its authority and of maintaining law and order. Lord Selborne quoted from a statement by an American soldier, General Frank Howley, former commander of the American forces in Berlin, who is at present vice-president of the University of New York, who recently completed a tour of Angola. In his statement the General said, according to the Earl of Selborne's letter, "I am convinced that the excitement created in certain international circles was originated by Communist lies, which I consider abominable. After what I have seen, I consider that the humanity of the Portuguese in racial relations has no equal in the world. The cessation of the Portuguese policy in Angola would be tragic for all, but specially so for the Natives. I consider the

news of atrocities is spread by Communist propaganda exclusively intended to discredit, before the eyes of the world, the great and real work of the Portuguese in their persistent effort to better the social and economic conditions of all the Angolan peoples."

* * * *

The Earl of Selborne's letter continued, "I cannot help comparing the immense outcry against the Portuguese in the world's press and the British Parliament with the comparative silence on the subject of the appalling atrocities which have been going on in the Congo for the last twelve months, where thousands of people have been tortured and butchered and also, on occasion, eaten. This leads me to suspect that the campaign against Portugal is being organised from Moscow, which apparently can always find enough Liberal-minded and simple-minded people in the Western nations to believe any atrocity alleged against a 'Rightest' government, and to make a hullabaloo about it, thereby causing dissension among the Allies, who are the only barrier against world domination by Communism."

* * * *

Probably time will tell which of the conflicting statements are those to be believed. Meantime the lesson is plain for all to read, namely, that those who begin even a minor, local conflict in Africa incur a heavy responsibility, for they know not whence it will spread and to what losses and human misery it will lead. Portugal is in the unhappy position of having a dictatorship, and so its actions, done without the consent of the peoples affected, are much more suspect. On the other hand, the cries for "liberty" and "one man, one vote" may only be the prelude to blood baths fomented to satisfy the lust for power of rival "leaders."

He came treading the waves ; and so He puts all the swelling tumults of life under His feet. Christians, why afraid ?

—St. Augustine.

* * * *

At three-score years-and-eighteen I find this generation the most stimulating, exciting, provocative—yes, promising—era I have ever seen or read about. I am not yet ready to die. I want to see what is going to happen next. Like the French editor, carried in a tumbril through the streets of Paris to the guillotine, I would say, "It is too bad to cut off my head ; I want to see how all this is coming out."

—H. E. Fosdick.

Theological Education in South Africa

By Canon T. R. Milford, Master of the Temple London

Canon Milford recently visited Africa in company with Dr. Charles Ranson, Director of the International Missionary Council's Theological Education Fund. In a visit to South Africa he was particularly interested in a project to set up at Lovedale a Federal Theological Seminary. His remarks will be of interest to our readers.

—Editor, "South African Outlook."

THE Bantu Education Act requires that education in secular subjects must be given in institutions each of which contains students from only one tribal area, who will in due course be instructed in their own tribal language. This is at present impracticable owing to the lack of professors and text-books, but already the segregation is taking place. We saw the once famous Fort Hare, where Africans of all tribal background had for years been prepared for degrees, in theology among other subjects. This, it will be remembered, has now been reorganized to take Xosa-speaking students only; the several hostels maintained by the churches have been bought out, twenty-two of the previous staff of some twenty-five (black and white) have resigned or been dismissed, and we were informed that this year's intake of students was very small indeed. This in part reflects the disastrous matriculation results in the newly reorganized schools taken over by Government, which showed in some cases 90 per cent or more of failures. (Previously, we were told, the percentage of passes among black students was higher than among whites, but I have not been able to check the figures.)

The churches have insisted on their right to train the candidates for the ministry in their own way, without either help or hindrance from the Government, and they have received permission to teach theological subjects only in inter-tribal colleges.

Further, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development requires that Africans must reside in certain special areas, either in the Bantu Reserves, or in the 'villages,' generally known as 'locations,' where Africans outside the Reserves are segregated. White men, on the other hand, are forbidden to live in these areas, and are only supposed to enter them by permission if their work requires it. As a result of these two requirements, Adams College (founded by the American Congregationalists in 1853) was liquidated in 1956, and the theological college attached to it given accommodation at Modderpoort in the Orange Free State, in some excellent buildings belonging to the Society of the Sacred Mission and adjacent to the latter's pre-ordination Test School. These two, however, are now under notice to

quit, since they are in a 'white' area, though actually surrounded by open country. The same fate has befallen the College of the Resurrection and St. Peter, at Rosettenville on the outskirts of Johannesburg, which has been training theological students since 1903.

In these circumstances plans have been drawn up for a Federal Theological Seminary at Sandile's Kop, near Lovedale, Cape Province, adjacent to Fort Hare, but not dependent on it, on land belonging to the Church of Scotland and on the edge of a Bantu Reserve. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists and Anglicans have registered their intention of building colleges at Lovedale, round a central seminary building.

If the Government allows the use of the land for this purpose, the Federal Seminary should be able to provide facilities for the training of the ministry in the whole of the Union up to a really high level, thus serving the same general purpose as the Salisbury-Epworth 'cluster.'

The Dutch Reformed Churches generally have accepted the Government's policy and train their African candidates for the ministry in tribal colleges. The theory behind this practice at its best is that already referred to. The tribal languages, it is said, speak to and from the heart. Education given in a foreign tongue (English or Afrikaans) detaches the student from his own traditions and background, and in the end fails to fit him to take his place either in the black man's or in the white man's world. It is argued that if he is trained in Zulu or Xosa he will still be able to draw on the riches of the universal Church, since he will have learnt English or Afrikaans as a second language, or perhaps translated Greek direct (as they do with Tamil and Swahili); as an English student taught in English may still hope to read the classical languages for himself, and French and German too.

Those who do not agree with this line point out the absence of words and, correspondingly, of concepts, philosophical, scientific and theological, in the native languages. They remember that we made do with Latin for a thousand years before we began to be learned in English; and they find it ironical that Ceylon is voluntarily clamping down on itself what they feel to be for the Africans a restrictive and divisive limitation.

For our part we hope that, in spite of its being too far south for convenience of access to the majority, the Lovedale Federal Seminary may grow into a centre of theological education second to none in Africa, and that its old students may one day fill the highest offices in their own churches.

—*The International Review of Missions.*

Lovedale Institution To-day

THE question is often asked, What is the position of Lovedale Missionary Institution, since so many of its activities, particularly the educational work and the care of the hostels, passed to the charge of the Bantu Education Department? The question can best be answered by quoting from the annual report for 1960 prepared by Mr. J. P. Benyon, the superintendent of Lovedale and principal teacher of the High School, who was appointed to the Lovedale staff in 1932, and so is well acquainted with the old traditions. Among other things, Mr. Benyon says:

“The past year, while not productive of any striking changes or achievements, can in retrospect be classed as one that flowed peacefully by, presenting no major problems or internal dissension. Control has been easy and the general mood calm and balanced, despite events in the country and outside, capable of sparking off unrest and excitement in such institutions. For this peace and general sanity in unsettled times we are indeed grateful.

“The year began with the disappearance of the Training School as such, but we can justifiably feel that it has merely been absorbed into the High School. Most of the staff assumed duty in the latter school, where the experience and approach of such as Mr. E. N. Brown, the new Vice-Principal, has consolidated the position this school maintains in Bantu Education.

COURSES

“The Afrikaans Courses for serving teachers were continued during 1960, contributing to our revenue and to the increased efficiency of the teaching of Afrikaans in the Junior schools. The Commercial Course was begun and the first steps were taken to expand the scope of the Junior Certificate Course to include various technical courses in 1961 and 1962. We regret that the Vocational School, where Carpentry in all its branches has been taught so successfully for generations, is gradually to be discontinued, but trust that the wider opportunities in the High School will enable intending artisans not only to acquire a higher standard of academic education, but also to round off their technical training at Vocational Schools, still to be established, and perhaps qualify as competent teachers and employees.

THE PRACTISING SCHOOL

“This school was given independent status with its own principal during 1960. Its new name is ‘The Lovedale Lower & Higher Primary Government Bantu School,’ and it comes under the direct control of the Circuit Inspector. Despite this constitutional change,

it is still an integral part of Lovedale, and participates as before in our communal life.

STAFFING

“We have enjoyed a reasonable stability in our staff with few changes. In the High School we must still rely largely on married European women, chiefly for the instruction in the official languages. The nucleus of our Bantu Staff, whose service to Lovedale is lengthening, contributes largely to this stability.

REV. R. R. SAMUEL

“Rev. R. R. Samuel, the Missionary in-charge of Church interests, arrived with Mrs. Samuel early in the year. Young and enthusiastic, he quickly identified himself with numerous aspects of the religious and extra-mural life of our pupils. His interest, willing co-operation, and understanding of our problems have gained him a place of respect in the minds of all. The degree in which he participated in the extra-mural, religious life of the boys can be gauged from the report on “Religious Activities.”

Members of staff who left during 1960 were Mr. and Mrs. Watts, Mr. G. M. Mpati, Mr. L. M. Mashologu and Mr. J. S. Van Heerden. The length of service of 10 years each justifies the claim of Mr. and Mrs. Watts, who have both retired, to special mention in this report.

THE HOSTELS

“Conditions in the hostels continue to improve. The new concrete floor in the senior ablution block, and the much-needed protection from sun and wind have improved conditions. Both hostels now have wirelesses with loud speakers in the common rooms. Both house-masters have been provided with improvised safes in which they can keep money entrusted to them by the pupils.

“This year a most successful experiment in the production of vegetables for hostel consumption was made. The gardens, previously worked by the Training School, were ploughed, fertilised, and planted with potatoes and pumpkins. Besides recouping all expenses, we were able to provide 500 lbs. of potatoes for the hostels and the pumpkin crop, to be used in 1961 to supplement diet, amounted to 420 pumpkins.

SPORT

“All games continued to be promoted and, while we were not as successful as we might have been, if all had applied themselves more zealously, we had the satisfaction of knowing that keenness was maintained, and healthy exercise provided.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

“In all schools, the results have been very satisfactory...all reflect conscientious teaching and learning. In this respect the confidence of the Bantu people in Lovedale has not been betrayed.

RELIGIOUS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

“Again we express our gratitude to all ministers and laymen who enabled us to hold our Sunday services throughout the year as an essential part of the life of all scholars. The S.C.A. and I.O.T.T. recruited a larger membership, and held regular meetings.

“Interest in Scouting was maintained, and more attention was paid to preparing a programme. Camp fires and week-end camps were, as usual, the highlights of the year. We thank all those who gave of their time to lecture and instruct.

PRIZE-GIVING

“The prize-giving this year was a particularly happy occasion. It was addressed by Mr. Colin Bennie, whose family connection with Lovedale dates back well over 100 years, while Mrs. Bennie distributed the prizes.

“Finally, I should like to record my thanks and appreciation of the interest, encouragement and practical help and advice received from the various offices of the Bantu Education Department, from the Church of Scotland through its representatives in Lovedale and, in particular, from all those within Lovedale whose loyal support and service promoted the success of their own departments and a healthy tone throughout the Institution.”

Books We Commend

Concerning the rights of Rulers over their Subjects and Duty of Subjects towards their Rulers: Theodore Beza (H.A.U.M., 303 Monarch House, 58 Long Street, Cape Town. Price 25/-).

This book is a translation by Dr. Henri-Louis Gonin, Professor of Latin, University of Pretoria, with an Introduction by the late A. A. Van Schelven, Professor Emeritus of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam and is edited by Dr. A. H. Murray, Professor of Philosophy, University of Cape Town who has supplied a Foreword dated February 1956. For so important a work, so well produced the price is reasonable.

The importance of the original book *De Jure Magistratum* (1574) can scarcely be exaggerated in view of its great influence upon all subsequent writers who have written on this subject. As it merits a very much longer review than can be given here it is to be hoped that as many readers as possible will buy this book and read it for themselves as it is a veritable ‘classic’ among the vast amount of literature which deals directly or indirectly with this subject of political philosophy. In the light of the situation existing in various countries today, including South Africa, the appearance of this translation is both relevant and opportune. Beza’s tractate considers 10 questions (listed on p. 23) and also possible objections which are answered in the course of the discussion of these questions, (an index of objections is given on pp. 23, 24). The questions are:—1. Must magistrates always be obeyed unconditionally as God? 2. Is a magistrate held responsible to render account of all his law to his subjects? And how far are they to presume such laws to be just? 3. How far must obedience be rendered or refused to unjust or impious

commands? 4. How must subjects suffering injustice at the hands of a magistrate defend themselves against him? 5. Is no remedy but prayers and patience granted by God to subjects oppressed by tyranny? 6. May lawful magistrates who have become tyrants be restrained by armed force by their subjects even as unjust usurpers of power over strangers? And may they be discharged by those by whom they were originally appointed? 7. What must be done when the Orders or Estates cannot be summoned either to impede or to check tyranny? 8. Should unjust oppressors or otherwise infamous princes be regarded as tyrants so that resistance to them is permissible? 9. Can subjects legally covenant with their supreme magistrates upon fixed conditions? 10. May subjects defend themselves by armed force against princes who are undisguised enemies and persecutors of the true faith?

To the general reader Beza is best known for two things (1) In 1581 he presented to Cambridge University the New Testament MS. known as Codex or Codex Bezae (2) He once uttered the famous statement (to the King of Navarre) “Sire, the Church of God is an anvil which has broken many a hammer.” From 1549-1559 he was Professor of Greek at Lausanne and as a classical scholar he produced a Latin translation of the New Testament. He became Calvin’s chief assistant at Geneva and later his successor in the leadership of the Reformed Church. A close friend of the Scots Reformer John Knox his letters to him are famous. A man of vast learning, brilliant wit and polished manners he represented the Reformed Church at many important conferences. As the editor of this book points out, “Beza’s advice was sought, and his works quoted, by

English, Scots, French, Dutch, Germans, Hungarians, and American colonists" His tenets underlay all the agitations for rights and liberties in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. The great importance of this work by Beza is well brought out in the Introduction. It is one of those great works which has inspired or influenced the writing of many other great works on similar subjects. As one who has recently been engaged in the re-study of the Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms in Scotland and its significance for Religious and Political Liberty and has written an essay thereupon, the present reviewer is delighted to commend this book to the attention of all readers of the *South African Outlook*. Needless to say, the translation is of the highest excellence. The style is lucid, the learning profound, and it is a book which must be read carefully by all students of Political Philosophy and it should be read by all who are specially interested in and concerned with the preservation and promotion of the Religious and Political Liberties of Modern Democracy.

THOMAS M. DONN.

* * * *

The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity, by N. Q. King (S.C.M. Press, London: 21)-).

This is another volume in the series *The Library of History and Doctrine*, and like two others reviewed recently, is excellent in format. It consists of 136 pages of which 80 represent the text, 27 consist of 5 appendices, and the remainder of the preliminary pages, the extensive bibliography, and indices of names and subjects. In a work of this kind the indices are specially valuable as all pages (except four) of the text have footnotes and references sometimes of considerable length and detail. There are six chapters, viz., Introduction; The Catholic and Oecumenical Settlement; Against all the Heresies; Lord of the Roman World; Theodosius and Paganism; Victory and death.

Though primarily suited to students and scholars of Church History and Political History, the general reader will also find in it much that is of non-specialist interest expressed in lucid English. As stated on the dust-cover "not the least significant fact about it is that it has come out of Africa," its author being Professor of Divinity in the University College of Ghana. There is, however, another reason why African readers should find this book specially interesting, namely (to quote the author's Preface) that "these studies in the relationships of these two totalitarian bodies, the Church and the State in the late fourth century" raise "questions more relevant to the modern world," since "Free and vigorous independent States are emerging in Africa and Asia. They have all to make a decision about their official

religion. Some have declared already for Islam, some are accepting Communism, some give lip-service to the slogan of religious neutrality, a few may even declare themselves Christian. In each of these countries there are Christian groups who will have to work out their relationship to that great Leviathan, the modern omnipotent State. At one extreme, certain groups will decide to carry their religion actively into party politics and will attempt to get control of the government, at the other, certain groups will refuse to have anything to do with what they consider this beast from the abyss. These new nations and the Muslim, Buddhist, Christian and Communist groups within them can learn from the fourth-century Roman settlement what happens to a religion when it takes over or is taken over by the State and what happens to the State. He who rides on the back of a tiger will never dismount, but in the religion/state partnership which is the tiger?" (p. 9).

Unquestionably this is a book of fine scholarship but it is more: it is a historical reminder that "others have laboured and ye are entered into their labours." In other words, it provides the historical data of a specially important period in history and so shows the mistakes, dangers and corrupting influences which beset any Church which consents to the paganising of its doctrine and worship by the State as the price of its "establishment" in wealth and power to suppress so-called "heretics." On the other hand, it shows the political results to the freedom and liberty of the individual, to freedom of speech, thought and writing, when any organisation calling itself "the one true Church" arrogates to itself all political power on earth. Anyone commencing a study of Erastianism and Hildebrandism would do well to read this book which sets forth the historical conditions under which these notions of the church/state relation arose as over against the New Testament doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, which doctrine has received its finest expression in Scotland.

The author deserves our cordial congratulations for having produced a work of absorbing historical interest. His Preface is full of good things and has given a good start to an excellent book. We commend it to all readers but especially to African readers, and trust that it will be cordially welcomed and extensively purchased by them.

THOMAS M. DONN.

* * * *

All political news and comment in this issue are contributed and written to express the views of the *South African Outlook* by R. H. W. Shepherd, Lovedale, C.P.